

1. Historical Background of the country and people

The word "Thai" means "free" and therefore "Thailand" means "the land of the free".

Formerly conflicting opinions and theories prevailed as to the origins of the Thais. Even in two decades before this we could speak with more certainty that they originated in Northwestern Szechuan of China about 4,500 years ago. But after the discovery of many instruments and artifacts at the village of Ban Chiang, Nongkham District, Udornthani Province, the theory about the origins of Thai people have been changed into a new one. It might be that the Thai people settled down here in Thailand and then scattered to various parts of the world even to some parts of China. This was due to the 14 Carbon test of Artifacts which showed that Thailand might be the first place of Bronze Age ever discovered in any part of the world, for it has some artifacts older than what was unearthed in the Near East by about 500 years.

"Siam" was the name of the country well known to the world until 1939 and again between 1945 and 1949; then on May 11, 1949 there was a proclamation changing the name of the country into "Prathet Thai" or "Thailand".

2. Six Major periods of the Thai History

1. Ancient period . 4500 years ago when the Thai people settled down in north western Szechuan and scattered in the fan like manner along the valley of the ~~yangste~~ Yangtse River.
2. Nanchao Period 588 years (650-1238) The kingdom was situated in Yunnan in the southern part of China.
3. Sukhothai period 128 years (1238-1350)
Sukhothai was the first capital city when the Thai people moved and settled down in the northern part of Siam overcoming the Khmers' influence. There were 6 kings altogether of "Pra Ruang" dynasty during the period of 128 years.
4. Ayudhya Period 417 years (1350-1767) With the new dynasty, Ayudhya was the first capital ^{city} of Siam. Situated in the central part of Siam. There were 34 kings of various dynasties during the 417 years.
5. ~~Thon~~ Dhonburi Period - only 15 years (1767-1782).
After the fall of Ayudhya, King Tak Sin established Dhonburi the new capital on the west bank of Chao Phraya River opposite to Modern Bangkok.

6. Bangkok or Ratanakosin Period began in 1782. Bangkok has been established the present capital city of Thailand under the reigns of nine successive Kings of Chakri dynasty for 190 years to this day.

Thai Culture

The word 'Culture' means 'way of life' or "Social Heritage." It embraces all forms of human response to environments. Different meaning between culture and civilization is that culture includes all aspects of way of life whether they may be primitive or Modern ones while civilization means only "The stage of being brought out of barbarism or the advanced stage in social development."

Culture may be divided into various aspects as follows:

Linguistic, Aesthetic, Customary and Traditional, Material Culture and spiritual culture.

Linguistic Culture — means language including reading and writing process. The Thai language is of monosyllable. In writing and in speaking it has music tones to denote different meanings of the same word as klai, if pronounced differently means near but if in another way means far.

Another word is 'Sua', it can be pronounced in three different ways meaning tiger, a mat and a coat. In writing we have some same symbols above the written word to guide the reading. Thailand has her own characters including figures, compared with England which uses Roman characters and Arabic figures.

Aesthetic Culture — means harmony, beauty and sweetness of what was made and ~~invested~~ invented by human beings. The word 'fine arts' includes painting, ~~sets~~ sculpture, architecture, drama and music. The Thai paintings of Ancient time discovered at a Southern province of Thailand, Yala, were dated between the 10th and 13th Centuries. The first fairly well preserved painting has been discovered at Ayutthya ancient-monastery which was founded in 1424 A.D.

The Thai sculpture is mostly the arts of forming the images of the Buddha. It is of five periods:

Chiangsaen period	- 11th - 13th	Century A.D.	
Sukhothai	" - 13th - 15th	"	" "
U-Thong	" = 13th - 15th	"	" "
Ayutthya	" = 1350 - 1767		" "
Ratanakosin or Bangkok	1782 - 1868	A.D.	

The Thai art architecture besides making residential houses is mostly connected with royal palace and monastery buildings and pagodas which are of their own typical structure as may be seen in Bangkok.

The Thai drama is of many kinds such as Khon or the masked play, Lakhon Nok (played by both men and women) Lakhon Nai (played by women only) and so on. Thai classic dances are mostly some parts of dramatic entertainments.

The Thai music instruments are of four kinds: the instrument of slipping or snapping, drawing, percussion and woodwind.

Another kind of Thai art is the intaid work of the mother-of-pearl used to decorate window and door panels of the shrine hall in the monastery and some utensils.

Customary and traditional culture of Thailand is mostly on the basis of human relation and Buddhism, such as when the sun enters the zodiac of Aries generally on April 13 every year. The Thai people celebrate Songkran Festival by paying respect to their parents, old relatives, pouring water and perfumes into their hands and

in return their parents and old relatives will utter some words of blessing for their happiness and prosperity. Besides this they go to the nearest monastery paying homage to Buddhist monks, venerating and pouring water and perfumes at the image of the Buddha as a kind of worship, freeing birds and fish as a gift of freedom and life and finally dedicating meritorious parts to the departed ancestors (*Tak?) various kinds of entertainments will follow after that.

Modesty, paying respect to the parents, the elders, the teachers and Buddhist monks, accepting and following admonition of parents and teachers are cultural structure of the Thai custom and tradition.

Speaking of Thai spiritual culture, we cannot leave Buddhism aside because Buddhism has played its important roles in the way of life of the Thai people from Sukhothai period (700 years ago) up till now.

There have been some statements in the stone inscriptions of Sukhothai period as may be ~~at~~ quoted in essence as follows:

Good are the Sukhothai people. They are of generous and moral habits, always observing precepts and giving alms. The people of this Sukhothai, old and young, male and female, all of them are pious, cherishing their faith in Buddhism, each observing precepts during the rainy season. After the Lent, the Kathin (the ceremony of Saffron robe presentation) is observed for a period of one month."

The Thai people who adhere to various faiths as shown in percentage by the office of national statistics are as follows:

Buddhists	93.6
Muslim	3.9
Christians	0.6
Others	1.9

There are more than 300,000 Buddhist-monks and novices and more than 25,000 Buddhist monasteries throughout the Country

There are two Buddhist Universities and about 7000 schools

8.

For Buddhist education run by ecclesiastical authorities. These schools and universities do not include the more than 10,000 schools for boys and girls which are situated in the monasteries.

Indian Influence on Thai Laws

The text of Thai Law is furnished by an Praninon. Katmai Ratchakan the meaning (the legal code of Rama I) or the laws of three Siam. When Ayutthaya was destroyed by the Burmese in 1767 almost 90% of the legal material past available at that time perished. New laws were needed and work on this did not begin until 1804 when a case forced on a case came up in a law-court. In case the court gave divorce to a husband and wife. The husband did not agree with its judgement and appealed against it. Not only the judgement was in defiance of the rules then existing but it appeared to be unjust. King Rama I felt the necessity of examining all the rules then existing. He set up a Committee for the purpose. The Committee was made up of judges or laws men who follow the Pali Canon. Wherever they were at variance with the law they were to be changed to agree with the law. They could be restored to their previous form. The Committee continued its labours for eleven months and submitted its report which in a form of a new Constitution became the law for Thailand. Since it follows Pali Canon or Dhamma it is good for the purpose of ethical conduct of Society.

From the brief work was given to the Committee, no small work, it should be clear, it was not suggest any fresh laws but to examine and existing

rules, at Dhammasattha, Sanskrit Dharmasutra, into conformity with the Pali Canon. And what is the aim of Dhammasattha? In a word of Prince Dharm Nirvan it is:

According to the Dhammasattha, an ideal monarch should be a Chakravartin in the ten royal virtues, constantly upholding the five common precepts... He takes pains to study the Dhammasattha.

and to keep at four principles of justice
namely: to assess the right or wrong of all
service or disservice rendered according to
upheld a righteous and truth full, to acquire
riches through work but just means and
to maintain a prosperity of the soul through
work but just means!"

It would be obvious from the above that it is not a case of a simple Shamashasta, although the action is in favour of the work of Manu, the novel is a Pali form of a Sanskrit Shamashasta but in a basic purpose of a critique of a monarch, an attempt at justice as well. The latter in a life, given a few proverbs and a few Sanskrits. Parts of the Shamashasta dealing with

The Thai, though they ~~are~~ borrow ^{and} from India something in a field of law, did not leave so it was. They introduced changes in it. Even in a basic conception they brought about a change. This change was in a division of law into substantive and procedural and civil and criminal. The Dharmasutras have as a fundamental category (atma-nyaya) a category of Manu or Myshasora). The ^Tacta were added as

Raj-salthan, a Ordinance of the King
 The law was absorbed into the Salthan
 (Salthan) a derivative category, which have
 a reference and application to the
 of Mass. All are included in the
 Indian Raj-salthan in the
 accordance by the law in 1805. It is
 interesting to note that in Mass. there is
 appear in the laws on law. A question
 between the laws and laws of Mass.
 more for, should prove quite a useful

1. The old Siamese Concept of the Monarchy, S. S. S. XXXVI (1947), p. 63.

The Indian in essence is marked on a conception of monarchy in Thailand as well. There are three principles on which it rests. The monarch is a patriarchal figure (Sukhathai period) and as person is associated with god, the principle of divine kingship and therefore the ideal monarch is a monarch of righteousness, abiding in a heavenly virtue and pursuing a four proper modes of conduct. The idea of conduct associated with concept of Calatrava and a sovereign who universal. It was his last view was that was a monarch in Thailand in a time of King Rama I. The consequence of all these views, of course, was, an absolute monarchy, even though it was a symbol of the state itself, whose function was not legislation but the preservation of a sacred law.

Complexity in the Thai Religious System: An Interpretation

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Complexity has characterized the Thai religious system since at least 1292, when the well known inscription of Rama Kamhaeng was composed. (A. B. Griswold & Prasert Na Nagara, "The Inscription of King Rama Kamhaeng of Sukhodaya (1292 A.D.)", Journal of the Siam Society. LIX (1971), pp 179-228, is the most recent translation of this inscription. It includes a discussion of previous translations.) This inscription not only celebrates the devotion of his people of Sukhothai to Theravada Buddhism but also notes a special relationship between the prosperity of the Kingdom and reverence for Phra-Khaphung, a "spirit-deity" living in a nearby mountain. Phra Khaphung is characterized as a *phī-thewadā*, combining *phī* (an indigenous Thai form meaning "spirit" "ghost") with *thewadā* (a form derived from Hindu-Buddhist cosmology and meaning "deity"). This classification of Phra Khaphung suggests that a process of merging two once distinct religious traditions had already begun.

The co-existence of indigenous and non-indigenous elements in Thai religion has persisted throughout subsequent Thai history. For example, when Rama I sought to reestablish order after the Burmese sack of the capital of Ayutthaya in 1767, one of his first decrees listed the various

types of "spirits" (phī) and "deities" (thawadā) that might legitimately be honoured by sacrifices. However, the king reminded his subjects that good fortune and affliction alike ultimately result from "Karma", not from the actions of spirits or gods. He emphasized that the Triple Gems of Buddhism were higher than all other laws, and that no other religious precepts could be held superior to those of Buddhism. (This decree, issued on 21st Aug. 1782, is cited in H.R.H. Chula Chakrahongse, *Lords of Life: The Paternal Monarchy of Bangkok, 1782-1932*. (London: Redman 1960) p. 89. See also R. Lingat (ed.), *Pramuan Kotmai ratchakan Hinmying* (Legal codes of King Rama I), Bangkok: Thammasat University, 1938.)

Observers of the current Thai religious situation, rural or urban, have noted that Thai religion still manifests similar complexity. (B. J. Terwestiel, "A model for the study of Thai Buddhism" [hereafter MSTB].)

This intricate mix of indigenous and non-indigenous elements is not the religious pluralism of the west, a situation in which tolerance exists for a competition among a number of distinct and autonomous faiths for the religious adherence of the populace. Thai religious complexity is of the sort commonly characterized as syncretic, in which elements derived from several historically discrete traditions have combined

to form a single distinctive Tradition. In such a situation, individuals may simultaneously hold beliefs or practice rituals derived from different Traditions, without any apparent sense of incongruity.

The Thai share this situation of religious complexity with other South and Southeast Asian peoples who commonly identify themselves as Theravada Buddhists: the peoples of Sri Lanka, Burma, Cambodia, and Laos. In fact it has frequently been observed that Theravada Buddhism is never the sole religious component in these societies, that there are invariably "non-Buddhist" religious elements present as well, leading H. D. Evers to suggest that Theravada Buddhism is, in some sense, an "incomplete" religion. At any rate, the fact of religious complexity in Theravada Buddhist societies has been a matter of interest for some time. And two broad strategies have been used to investigate it: one approach might be characterized as historical, the other as a more synchronic structural-functional or social science approach.

The historical approach to understanding Thai religion is exemplified by the efforts of such scholars as K. Landon and R. Le May. They distinguished the various elements that make up Thai religion principally by identifying their historical origin—e.g.,

indigenous - animist. Brahmanic, Buddhist. These constituent elements were further identified with the various epochs in Thai history in which they were assumed to have been first adopted by the Thai. This approach has often produced what might be called the "stratigraphic" and the 'thin veneer' perspectives. Thai (or ~~Siam~~ Siam, Burmese, etc.) religion is seen as made up of a number of discrete "Layers" of religious belief and practice, one piled haphazardly on the other. The practitioners of this approach seem to have assumed that religion is intrinsically irrational. But they also seem to have been impressed with the apparent persistence of indigenous - animistic elements, which suggested to them that the non-indigenous religious elements formed a thin veneer over the basically animistic propensities of the nominally Buddhist masses (i.e. scratch a Buddhist; find an animist) emphasizing historical origins, followers of this approach have generally left unexplored a number of questions about the relationships between the various religious elements, questions of special interest to the followers of the other approach to religious complexity.

The main aims of the Structural-functional approach have been to investigate the relationships among the various religious components found in Theravada Buddhist societies, and/or to discover any social correlates of religious beliefs and practices in the nonreligious spheres of these societies. This approach is ~~favoured~~ favored by most contemporary anthropologists and other social scientists interested in Theravada Buddhism. Although none of the scholars who have pursued the structural-functional approach has ignored the historical depth of Theravada Buddhism, or the religious and non-religious spheres of the societies they have studied, their primary aim has been a synchronic analysis. That is, they have sought to demonstrate relationships between the various religious components, or between the religious and nonreligious spheres independent of the historical contexts in which they are found. The structural-functional approach has been extremely productive, highlighting agreements on such matters as the primacy of Buddhism in these complex religious systems. It has also produced some disagreements of interpretation - such as whether we can see a single syncretized religious system or a number of distinct and alternative religious systems.

This is well illustrated in the works of M. Ames and M. Spiro. In their studies of Sinhalese and Burmese religion, respectively, Ames and Spiro each distinguish two components: A Theravada Buddhist component and a non-Theravada Buddhist "Component". Ames labels his non-Buddhist component 'magical-animism'. Spiro prefers "supernaturalism" or simply 'animism'. Although both recognize a degree of internal complexity in each of the two components, apparently the Buddhist one has been

identified through a number of unambiguous criteria, while the non-Buddhist one seems to have a residual character. That is, any religious element not identifiable as "Buddhist" is classed as "non-Buddhist" or animist. Given this distinction, Ames and Spiro conclude that Buddhism maintains a paramount position with Sinhalese, Burmese religion. But they disagree on the relationship between the two components, on whether there is a single integrated religious system or multiple - and perhaps antagonistic - systems. Ames sees in Sinhalese religion a functional division of labor between Buddhism and magical-animism: the Buddhist component specializing in ultimate and other-worldly concerns, the magical-animist component in more mundane, this-worldly matters. He also proposes that the magical-animist component performs key socialization and therapeutic functions for the adherents of Buddhism, linking both components into a single religious system. Spiro sees a similar division in Burmese religion: Buddhism being concerned with the supermundane, and animism with the mundane. But he maintains that Buddhism and Burmese supernaturalism do not form a single syncretized religious system. Though he does see Buddhism as paramount, Spiro proposes that Buddhism and animism each

represent distinct and - to some extent - alternative religious systems.

Terwiel has recently suggested that some of the differences in interpretation respecting religious complexity in those societies where we find Theravada Buddhism may be due to differences in theoretical perspective. Certainly Ames and Spiro represent - different theoretical preferences within anthropology - a sociological emphasis and a psychological emphasis, respectively. However, some of the differences recorded seem to ~~at~~ be due to the unique historical situations of the societies under consideration. For example, caste considerations play some role in Sinhalese religion, while caste has not been a factor in most Southeast Asian religions. Other differences also exist. For example, the relative stress placed on novicehood in Burmese religion seems to contrast with the stress on monkhood in Sri Lanka and Thailand.

One problem in the study of those societies in which Theravada Buddhism is found is the temptation to treat both Buddhism and Buddhist society as single enduring entities that can be abstracted from the flux of particular social life. In fact, such an approach can be useful. But we can also view Buddhism and Buddhist society as variables, conditioned by the circumstances in which they are found - including the - non - Buddhist religious elements invariably found with Buddhism, and the historical circumstances of each

Buddhist Society. From this perspective, the Religious systems in which Buddhism plays a dominant role, and the Societies in which these religious systems are found, represent a range of variations rather than a single entity. Such an approach may allow us to see relationships within and between both the complex religious systems and the societies influenced by Theravada Buddhism. It may also pave the way for a truly comparative study of Theravada Buddhism as a living religion, of its impact on the lives of real people rather than sociological abstractions. It is in this context that I shall sketch out a perspective on Thai religious complexity which may reveal similarities to and differences from other Theravada Buddhist Societies. That is, the Thai situation viewed as part of a range of variation found in Theravada Buddhist Societies.

The Thai case is similar to those of Sri Lanka and Burma in that Buddhism maintains a paramount position within a complex religious situation. However I distinguish three components in Thai religion (rather than the two of Ames and Spiro) Buddhism, a Brahmanistic Component, and an animistic Component. Each will be examined along a number of dimensions: goal orientation and world-view, ritual, specialists, participants, and social focus. I shall indicate some of the ways these three components

are interrelated to form a perduring pattern; hence my concern is primarily structural-functional. However I shall also set out an historical perspective in which the formation and development of this pattern may be viewed, and suggest some ways this pattern has undergone changes in recent years.

Theravada Buddhism in Thai religion

Rama Khamhaeng's inscription is only one of many that indicate that by the thirteenth century the Thai had established a number of powerful states in the area now part of northern Thailand. These inscriptions also indicate that Theravada Buddhism occupied a prominent place in these states, although the specific agencies through which the Thai first encountered Buddhism are not completely clear. From the fourteenth century on, the major centres of Thai power shifted southward to Ayutthaya, which was influenced in important respects by the Hinduized Khmer, especially after the Thai conquest of Angkor in the late fourteenth century. Despite these Khmer influences, however, Buddhism retained its paramount position in the Ayutthayan religious system. In the eighteenth century a further southward shift in Thai power took place, centering it on Bangkok. Rama I's inscription reiterates - at the very foundation of what was to become the modern Thai state - the centrality of Buddhism to the Thai. In contemporary Thailand, Buddhism is recognized as the state religion and enjoys special government support, although recent constitutions have guaranteed freedom of religion. The Thai King must be a Buddhist, to maintain his role as defender of the faith. The official sanction of Buddhism merely formalizes and affirms the

Commitments and attitudes of the Thai people generally. For them there is close link between being Thai and being Buddhist.

Theravada Buddhism maintains its unity and continuity through a common core of doctrines and rituals sustained and perpetuated by the monastic institution (the Sangha). Some generalizations about sophisticated Buddhism might well apply to any Buddhist society. I will argue that, in Thai society, the values and beliefs of Buddhism are not restricted to a small group of virtuosos and literati, but influence the mass of Thai. These values and beliefs set the religious context that has shaped the institutional fabric of Thai society and in which the Thai live their every day lives. Buddhist values, conceptions, and attitudes color virtually all aspects of Thai life, pervading the Thai attitude toward the world in which they live.

Buddhist Goal Orientations & World view.

Philosophical Buddhism postulates two levels of reality: one, the phenomenal world of everyday experience, a world of ignorance and illusion; the other, the world of the Karmically Conditioned, the domain of ultimate religious reality. It should be noted that these two levels of reality are not completely distinct and separate worlds; they are two perspectives on the same world. These two perspectives on reality are based in a number of key Buddhist doctrines, in particular those of Karma and of multiple rebirth. Karma holds that each act carries its own load of religious merit (Bun - บุญ) and/or demerit (Hāp - บาป) which automatically accrues to the actor. Multiple rebirth postulates that one works out the implications of his merits and demerits over a long series of lifetimes. Buddhism also locates the religious causes of suffering and of evil in action in the world, action motivated by

desire and attachment to worldly things. Since the causes of suffering are located in the world, the aim of the Buddhist is to free himself from desire and attachment, to escape from the world, to gain nirvana or "extinction." The formal goal of escaping from the clutches of Karma is the basis for characterizing Buddhism as radically other worldly.

In Thailand, as in other Buddhist societies, knowledge of sophisticated doctrines and striving to attain Nirvana are restricted to extremely dedicated monks and possibly a few laymen. Though Buddhists, most of Thai do not aspire to such an abstract religious goal as nirvana. The mass of Thai Buddhists aspire to a more proximate version of the ultimate goal, a sojourn in paradise (sawān-วัด) and/or an enhanced status in some future life.

Such aspirations may appear to savor of a this-worldly attitude, but they should not be viewed as simple inversions of the other worldly thrust of Buddhist thought. A time in paradise or an enhanced rebirth status are deemed to be appropriate rewards for proper behaviors, rewards that signify one is moving along the path to the more difficult and abstract ultimate goal. Such pervasive and popular tales as the Phra Watsandon Chadok (Vessantara Jataka) not only provide lay Buddhists with exemplars of proper modes of behavior involving renunciation and compassion; they also serve to remind them that their religious life is a long and difficult journey worked out over a series of lifetimes with numerous stopping points. The main point of articulation between a Thai

lay person and Buddhist values and beliefs is not enough such as the doctrine of Karma, or even such formulations as the Four Noble Truths or Eightfold Path. Most Thai are linked to Buddhism through popular beliefs about merit (บุญ) and an pervasive belief system connected with beliefs, merit-making (ทำบุญ)

I read about merit and merit-accumulation seem to be ubiquitous in Thailand. Individuals frequently account for events and experiences in their lives in terms of their relative store of merit; all situations, situations, and events can - potentially, at least - be interpreted and

explained in terms of merit. In doctrinal terms, an individual might be thought of as an accumulation of karma garnered through past lives as well as the present one. In simpler terms, each individual might be viewed as being a balance of accumulated merits and demerits. One's moral actions are aimed at altering this balance in a favourable direction, moving one further along the path to the ultimate religious goal. Popular belief affirms what sophisticated doctrine teaches: a person's balance of some are better or more favourable than those of others. Both sophisticated doctrine and popular belief sanction the notion that there are intrinsic inequalities among humans with respect to their moral status. Further, this view is crystallized in doctrine and popular belief by elaborate cosmological hierarchies including all sentient beings: gods (devas), human beings (manus), spirits (phis), animals (sas) and demons (pret).

This cosmological hierarchy forms a basic part of the Buddhist world-view and provides a 'perspective' on the 'individualism' thought to characterize Buddhism. In contrast to the more ascriptive and collective emphasis found in Classic Hindu belief, Buddhism generally emphasizes an individual's control over his own moral fate. But the Buddhist world-view assumes that an individual is working out his/her moral life within a hierarchically structured and differentiated universe that includes a variety of other acting beings. Indeed the Buddhist message is, in part, to free oneself from attachments to such other beings, in order to rise higher in moral hierarchy. We shall see that the various dimensions of this hierarchy are manifested within the context of Buddhist rituals, and that its perpetuation squarely holds in Thai social value.

A final observation about Buddhist values and world-view concerns the 'achievement' elements found in both sophisticated and popular Thai Buddhism. The Buddhist injunction might be characterized as: "Be merit-mobile"! Neither passive contemplation nor quietistic acceptance of one's fate will improve one's moral balance and move one closer to the proximate or abstract Buddhist goals. The Buddhist world-view encourages an individual to participate in situations preselective of merit, in ritual complex of merit-making activities.

Buddhist Ritual

As characterized above, formal Buddhism involves such abstractions as an emphasis on achievement within a complex differentiated moral hierarchy, individualism, and freeing the self from attachments. Doctrinal Buddhism

is not only highly sophisticated, it is also noteworthy in its thrust. If the members of Thai Buddhism are deeply involved in mundane activities, they have no leisure time nor the resources to gain any subtle understanding of esoteric doctrines. The 'common view' view holds that members of Thai are not deeply influenced by Buddhism, that they remain as near animists. But the majority of Thai voluntarily acknowledge as Buddhists, not animists. What does this mean? Do the values and values of abstract Buddhism penetrate the lives of the ordinary villagers? If so, through what means?

Along with popular beliefs about merit, a main link between abstract Buddhism and the ordinary villager is the complex of merit-making rituals — also giving, donations, Kachorn etc. Examination of these rituals indicates that various facets of doctrinal Buddhism are encapsulated in their highly ritualized forms. Even though the ordinary villager may not be familiar with formal doctrines, participation in merit-making rituals places one in a context in which abstract Buddhist values and values are manifested in symbolic acts. Such participation may also be an occasion upon which these values and values are learned and reinforced. Hence, the ordinary villager may gain some understanding of abstract Buddhism, and linked to personal aspirations and beliefs, through these everyday experiences of and participation in Buddhist rituals. Despite the individualism that characterizes abstract Buddhism, merit-making activities in Thailand are eminently social. The role of the anonymous giver is not a popular one; merit-making is overwhelmingly public, suggesting that these rituals serve more than narrowly religious functions.

The Buddhist message and the moral order it represents are deemed to be universal. Karana functions inexorably regardless of any belief in its operation. Buddhism & merit, is not only all-embracing, but boundless and limitless of any Buddhist moral community, extending through space and time, are amorphous at best. Merit-making rituals make the community visible and define some of its dimensions. I would point to the fact that these rituals are not community and spontaneously encounter questions that Buddhism poses for its adherents — and some answers as well.

The ordinary Thai villager encounters cosmological dimensions of the Buddhist hierarchy in a variety of situations. Gods are called upon for help and as witnesses, spirits and elements may attack the weak and cowardly, and of course, and malevolent encounters everywhere. But the main focus of merit-making activities is merit, or more generally the Sangha, which abrogates throughout Thailand. The Sangha stands as a proximate exemplar and symbolic centre of Buddhism; it more so stands as an apex of the Thai religious and social order. Further, it more defines the upper limit of the human dimension of the Buddhist moral hierarchy. Merits are worthy objects of

of merit - material activities by others, because through their ordination, they have voluntarily given up their kinsmen, neighbours and friends, and at all sections of ordinary society, to assume an rigorous discipline of religious life. The ordination ritual is itself a dramatic display of a number of key themes of abstract Buddhism: moral hierarchy, merit achievement and freeing oneself from all attachments for moral rewards. The ordination ritual symbolically transforms a layman and from a layman - counted as an 'ordinary person' (Ichor) - to a monk, counted as a 'monk-fellow' (Ichor) (dhy). The transformation is accompanied by a dramatic change in demeanor on the part of the new monk, and in the attitudes of others towards him. Once ordained, he is no longer a layman with ordinary and restraint, and he must be treated - even lay persons, siblings, and closest friends - with a special form of respect reserved for monks. Whenever they encounter or interact with monks, we are immediately reminded of a complex moral hierarchy of formal Buddhism and of the importance of freeing oneself from worldly attachments.

The contrast between monks (commonly called "defect") and the class of "ordinary persons" sets out the two major categories of the Buddhist hierarchy encountered in everyday life. In addition, each of these categories is internally differentiated. For example, monks share the category "monk-filled defect" with kings, high royalty, Buddhist images, and even revered entities. An example of internal differentiation within the category "ordinary persons" can be seen in the fact that certain laymen act as masters of ceremonies, some among the nobles; these men are commonly highly respected for their piety and previous service as monks. Women might be seen as standing at the bottom of the Buddhist hierarchy, for they cannot aspire to be monks, at least in this lifetime. Indeed this is one rationale used to explain why women cannot take vows of responsibility for routine monastic-making chores like daily alms-giving: women need more opportunity more than men, who have the opportunity to be monks if they so choose.

The Buddhist hierarchy displayed in
receptive ritual situations in everyday
life is both specific and general, local and
superlocal. In rural areas and towns, the
neighbourhood temple is at locus of merit-
making activities. At least some local
monks are likely to be at marriages, neighbours,
and friends often bring people who provide
support through merit-making. However,
this support is not provided because of kinship
or other ties, but rather because carmen
have formally given up these ties on
entering the Sangha. All monks are deserving of
respect and support not just those of local
temple. In rural superlocal settings, Buddhists
into a member of Buddhist community,
serve to centralise the superlocal
character of the Buddhist hierarchy. The
Kaliyan ceremony, which takes place at
end of the rainy season and involves
giving meritorious robes and other necessities
to the monks at a selected temple, provides

an example.

Kashin is a special elaborate ceremony; the most spectacular being one sponsored by the king or prince or his emissary - in a solemn full moon night - followed by other gods to royal temples along the Chao Phraya river. Kashin and friends, government officers, co-workers, etc. They have a collective aspect, and often involve long range planning and extensive preparation. It is not a temple customarily chosen for Kashin support is the other than the temple some distance away. Hence the Kashin is not a local affair, but a larger Buddhist world. The larger Buddhist world is further manifested on such occasions as temple fairs, pilgrimages, and large scale celebrations like Thai Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya, Enlightenment and Death of Buddha. These occasions serve to bind the individual to the supra-local, even universal, aspect of the Buddhist world-view. The Sangha - as the focus of merit-making, provides the structure of the larger world.

Meditation records display many elements of sophisticated doctrine in every day life. They might be viewed as symbols or exercises on which participants identify with the Buddhist view of the world and express their readiness, in some degree, to rid themselves of worldly attachments for religious (and social) rewards. Food, time, money and even silver are given to support and maintain the Sangha, the Buddhist hierarchy and moral community. There are all objects of greed or selfish person might like to keep for himself, without the goal of Buddhist commitments.

The central position of the Thai layman with and his commitment to the Buddhist world is very general. In rituals he leaves his path to salvation lies in giving up attachments, trying to move up and on the long moral hierarchy. But, in fact, the layman seeks long life, good health, prosperity, a happy marriage and family - a variety of goals that indicate his firm attachment to the temporal world. Does he make home "bad" Buddhist? How can "good" lay Buddhist reconcile their commitment to an otherworldly Buddhism while maintaining an active involvement in the world? To some degree Thai laymen recognize the problem. But they may claim "they do not have the power" to fully pursue the ultimate goal of Buddhism. There, they recognize what describes others: not all humans are equally capable of seeking - much less gaining - nirvana. While the general recognition exists, a form of particular attachment - marriage, children, business attachments, etc. - could pose a moral problem, one partially confronted and met by Buddhist in action - Buddhist sector of Thai religion, as we shall see.

Buddhist Religious Specialists

The major Buddhist religious specialists in a Buddhist sector of Thai religion is a monk (phra). However, novices men and "nuns" (māe chi) and lay master of ceremonies (pho khree) also play some role. The Buddhist specialist can be distinguished by age, sex, and membership of religious precepts to which they adhere. The most important Buddhist rules are restricted to men, and full ordination as a monk is limited to those over twenty years old who meet a number of general qualifications (e.g., freedom from leprosy). The monk formally adheres to the full 227 rules of monastic discipline (Vinaya); the novice follows only ten. Buddhist nuns are relatively rare and, as in other Buddhist societies, are not greatly respected in Thailand. Women in Buddhism. Consistently, nuns are relatively useless who have chosen to withdraw from the world. Shave their heads and wear white robes (in contrast to the orange robes of Sangha members). Nuns follow only nine precepts. The ordinary lay person is enjoined to follow only five precepts, though at special occasions (often elderly) may occasionally volunteer to observe eight. Buddhist religious rules are all achieved and voluntary. Extreme virtues are defined by universalistic standards, and assessing such a role commonly involves learning Pali chants, and in form of a monk. The Buddhist specialist is also free to leave his religious role at any time.

The strategic importance of Sangha and monk as symbols and proximate exemplars of Buddhist values and world-view has already been indicated. From the Thai perspective, being a monk is not a easy undertaking. Following the 227 rules of Vinaya effectively cuts off monks from ordinary society and most things their consider "fien" (samy), a widely held Thai value. These how important Thai consider at Sangha and at Buddhist order and its precepts, is suggested by a variety of formal and informal factors that insure its perpetuation; maintenance of order is not likely to change.

A state religion Buddhism on general and at Sangha in particular gain considerable support from various agencies, watch administrator Sangha lands, support religious education, and reward religious expertise. Government employees may take leave (with loss of benefits) to enter the official Sangha. A state from such support, there are numerous popular beliefs and informal pressures. Government employees may

Sangha. For example, there is a general ideal that all men should serve for a time in the Sangha. Though not all do, many spend at least a rainy season as monks. It is also widely believed that much of the merit acquired through ordination is gained by the ordination itself, particularly by the monk who is himself carried from the Sangha. Monastic service is also believed to have an enduring beneficial characterological effects. Men who have served as monks are trip (Sang), men who have not are raw (dip). "Raw" men are thought to be poor marriage picks, so "ripe" men may have an advantage on the marriage market. Monastic service may also provide an enhancement of prestige, and possibly training in useful skills to be exploited on leaving the Sangha. And the Sangha has been an important vehicle for upward mobility in Thai society. Such beliefs and attitudes - which ensure a steady flow of men into the Sangha, thereby perpetuating the Buddhist hierarchical order - are so pervasive as to suggest that the maintenance of the Buddhist order is more than a religious value in the narrow sense; it is a broadly based social value as well.

The Sangha is more than a symbol of Buddhist values and world view, it is also an organization. In modern times the Sangha organization has been increasingly formalized and centralized - in many respects paralleling the bureaucratic organization of the Thai government. If anything, the Sangha penetrates more deeply into all reaches and levels of Thai society than the government does. This may be why the government has found it useful, in its efforts to create a national policy, to emphasize its close traditional relationship between Buddhism and the state, and to actively seek Sangha support for a variety of programmes relating to economic development and political integration. Indeed the organizational structure of the Sangha provides a ready skeleton for a Thai national moral community in which persons from all walks of life and regions of the country can identify.

Social Focus and Participation.

The Buddhist moral community and the Thai national community are intricately interrelated. Buddhist symbols, Sangha, monks, Buddhist images, temples and ceremonies are universally given special deference and respect, and concrete support of Buddhist institutions in terms of goods and services is substantial. The monks of Thai society - men, their support for Buddhism is continuous. However, there are differences in the intensity of involvement of individuals.

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For example, the degree of involvement of women with Buddhism is relatively constant until, with advancing age, it may increase. Men's involvement is more variable though it may also be more intense at particular points. While a monk, a man's involvement with Buddhism is virtually total. But in lay life, it is typically more sporadic and less intense overall, with advancing age, men (like women) may retire from secular activities and increase their Buddhist involvement.

The commitment of Thai, individually or collectively, to Buddhist values and world view is nearly universal and is more or less narrowly religious. Aside from specifically religious beliefs and ritual forms, Buddhism has supplied cognitive and evaluative elements which have been incorporated into Thai culture, built into the Thai social fabric, and internalized into the personalities of individual Thais. The values and concepts acquired in the context of Buddhist rituals have been generalized and applied to non-religious, non-religious spheres. One might view Buddhism as providing a "cultural gyroscope" which has served to shape and direct the major facets of Thai culture and society. In this sense, the social focus of Buddhism could be characterized as the entirety of Thai society.

Brahmanic Elements in Thai Religion.

It should have Thai religion have noted the existence of a number of beliefs and practices which are not indigenous because they are clearly derived from an Indian tradition - yet cannot be unequivocally identified as Buddhist. I have labelled such beliefs and practices "Brahmanic". Two main components of a Brahmanistic complex can be distinguished. One closely tied to royal institutions and the capital city, is "Court Brahmanism" or more widely diffused throughout Thai society, I term "Folk Brahmanism". My concern is here with primarily with latter component, however, a few comments on "Court Brahmanism" are in order.

Inscriptions indicate Brahmanistic elements were present in early Thai states along with Buddhist and indigenous elements. It appears that, as the state of Ayutthaya expanded and became more powerful Brahmanistic elements (presumably derived from the Khmer) were used to enhance the prestige of the Thai kingdom. In the fourteenth century, when the Thai conquered the Khmer kingdom of Angkor, large numbers of Khmer, including sacerdotal officials and bureaucrats, were transported to Ayutthaya and incorporated into the state structure. The Thai court adopted many of the Brahmanistic rituals

Large to Digitized by Sarayu Trust Foundation and eGangotri. Funding IKS/MOE up or syn bolizing
at society concern for and control over their aspects
of society such as a phratrial fertility -
as "divine kingship ritual" and as "Firo Pongh" -
(vāg nā) ceremony, for example. Although most
of the Brahmanistic rituals were confined to
elite or capital, some - for instance,
Pūsara (phīrā lō kucuk) ceremony - were
very popular for a time. Some of the cere-
monies have been continued into modern
period, and "Court Brahman" and
astrologers still play some role at the royal
court.

It is not clear precisely when or through
what means the folk Brahman complex was
incorporated into the Thai religious pattern.
It could represent a survival from an
early "Hinduized" period in Thai society, or
it might be that the folk Brahman
elements were dispossessed from the elite to the
marginal after Court Brahmanism was
orthodoxized. In any case, folk Brahman
elements are pervasive - if not universal -
in Thai religion, both urban and rural, which
calls for some doubt on both speculations. Another
possibility is that the folk Brahman complex
was introduced and spread simultaneously
with Theravada Buddhism. We shall see what
evidence is extensive structural and func-
tional links between the folk Brahman
complex and Buddhism which might
support such a view. Unfortunately, the
scope of this paper.

Some contemporary village practitioners
of folk Brahman specialities claim their
religion (sādsant phām). However, they
often view themselves as Buddhists (as do
most ethnic Thai) not as adherents of
Brahmanism. Indeed, such practitioners are
often men locally known as for Buddhist exper-
tise or piety. Though we shall see close connections
between folk Brahman practices and beliefs
and those of Buddhism, the practices are
not viewed as merely - making in themselves. If
anything, such practices are viewed more as
technology or science than as religion in the
strict sense. Folk Brahman beliefs also
appear to be grounded in the Buddhist world-
view, rather than in a distinctive world view
of their own.

Folk Brahman Local Orientation and World View

The coherent Buddhist view of the
moral order and man's place in the
order - formulated by a number of key
notions such as karma and multiple
rebirths, popularized in such notions as
merit and merit-making, and per-
petuated by the songs and crys-
tallized in Buddhist ritual forms
encore repeated in everyday life - is
accessible to all Thai. Although there are

a number of concepts particularly associated with Folk Brahman practices, these do not seem to form a coherent and integrated system of ideas and beliefs, a Brahmanic world-view comparable to that of Buddhism. For example, Folk Brahman practitioners will sometimes call out a pantheon of gods (devatas) — along with Buddhas — to join in and witness some ceremony; and the notion of "soul elements" (khwan) is a basic feature of some very popular Folk Brahman rites. However, neither notion of a pantheon of gods, nor use of khwan, nor any other Folk Brahman belief, is logically integrated into a doctrinal world-view; rather, they are grounded in and draw their efficacy from a Buddhist world-view, which Folk Brahmanism shares.

The Folk Brahman practice of calling upon a pantheon of gods draws in the hierarchical structure of Buddhist world-view, particularly its popularized cosmological notions derived from it. That is, the deities invoked by the Folk Brahman practitioner are a part of a Buddhist cosmological scheme, not figures distinct from that scheme. Brahmanic practices also shared in Buddhist view of which is a determinate level of reality (i.e. the karmically conditioned) existing beneath the flux of the phenomenal world. This level of reality is not only determinate, it is also knowable — at least in part. Indeed, the ideal task of the Buddhist monk is to seek insight into this level of reality; but a Folk Brahman "seer" or "diviner" (mo, shi, literally "looking doctor") can also use his skills and ritual paraphernalia to tap this determinate level and provide clients with advice about possible courses of action.

The notion of khwan seems to be intimately linked to the Folk Brahman complex. Each individual is thought to have a number of khwan, (traditionally seven or eight). In rituals these khwan are often identified with various senses and faculties of the body — e.g., khwan of the eye (khwan to), khwan of the nose (khwan pig), etc. — though not all the very two are necessarily named. The numerous specific khwan are also collectively termed khwan. Khwan have a tendency to wander, to become disorganized or to disintegrate. Such disintegration is manifested in a variety of symptoms treated by a Folk Brahman specialist, the "soul tying doctor" (mo, shi khwan), who recovers the khwan to the body and reintegrates them. Though there is some dispute about the derivation of the khwan notion, it bears striking similarities to the sophisticated Buddhist notion of khwan (the "soul elements" or "essences").

What makes up an individual.

Though Folk Brahmanism draws on many salient features of the Buddhist world-view, there is one important respect in which it differs from Buddhism: its aims or goals. In contrast to (rather its worldly orientation encouraged by) Buddhism (in ultimate terms escape from Karma, achieving extinction; more proximately, gaining paradise or an enhanced rebirth), Folk Brahman practice is more commonly directed towards worldly problems, ceremonies seeking such ends as good health, prosperity, luck in some undertaking, or a happy and auspicious marriage. Folk Brahman practices also come into play at various points in the life cycle and in the cycle of the seasons. Despite the apparent incongruity between its worldly focus of Folk Brahman practice and its other-worldly focus of Buddhism, these foci are not in opposition but are closely intertwined.

Folk Brahman Ritual

Folk Brahmanism has no distinctive and coherent world-view which distinguishes it from Buddhism; its beliefs and practices are based on conceptions and values drawn from Buddhism. In this sense, Folk Brahmanism does not constitute a separate and autonomous religious system vis-à-vis Buddhism, but rather consists of a number of cultural ritual ritual complexes which can be related to Buddhist values and beliefs. Because of its close links with Buddhism, and its focus on problems Folk Brahmanism addresses, it might be seen as a kind of "secular" or this-worldly arm of Buddhism proper.

Folk Buddhist rituals are deemed to be automatically efficacious in producing anxiolysis. Folk Brahman rituals are also believed to be automatically effective. That is, given the proper conditions (e.g. the user having correct information regarding date and time of birth, the ceremony being performed properly), the desired results or correct advice will follow; any apparent failures are attributed to erroneous information supplied or improper procedure followed or possibly lack of skill or the particular specialist employed. Since successful performances are likely to be remembered, and any failures forgotten or explained away, faith in the effectiveness of Folk Brahman ceremonies is rarely challenged. There are numerous highly specialized tasks that Folk Brahman ceremonies may address. However there are two general ritual tasks that seem especially important. The first might be characterized as legitimizing this-worldly involvements; the second involves a therapeutic function.

As we observed earlier, Buddhism poses a special problem for the lay person. On the one hand, Buddhist doctrine and ritual encourage freeing oneself from various worldly attachments in order to gain religious rewards. On the other hand, the layman characteristically shies away from the worldly preoccupations. To some degree, the lay - worldly involvement can be rationalized by formal doctrine itself which holds that the path to Nirvana is long and difficult; only those with especially good karma qualifications accumulated over many life - times can aspire to the arduous discipline and self - control that lead to final escape into the cause of suffering, and release from that suffering. Further help, as a lay Buddhist to religiously sanctioned activity like merit - making, supports the Sangha, he also cherishes himself in pursuing a family, he layman provides future monks and supporters of a Buddhist Order. Hence there are a variety of rationales - doctrinal and ritual - that provide some general legitimization of the layman's involvement in the world. Certain folk Brahman beliefs and practices may provide further legitimization dealing with particular aspects of the layman's worldly activities. This is one type of ritual performed by the user or user - like.

Each user has his own particular world of ritual performance, acquired from a teacher. Though there are numerous variations in practice, there are some common features; users usually use various techniques of astrological manipulations. Although users do not before their activities in this way, what they do is to partially penetrate the ignorance and illusion of the world of the senses, to reach the order of reality - past, present and future - that is determinate and knowable through the appropriate knowledge and skill. This permits a user to in turn a lay child with an activity under consideration (forming an attachment through marriage, gaining a profit through business or what ever) is appropriate and proper in terms of astrological reality, an order of reality beyond phenomenal, merely time - conditioned or karma reality. In a sense, the user provides for a person committed to the - worldly Buddhism a sanctioned moral legitimization for his lay - worldly activities, serving as a bridge between the abstract Buddhist moral Order and the day - to - day colorful and activities of ordinary village.

Folk Brahman religious therapy is best exemplified by the soul - tying (su kharan) ceremony which Tambiah has discussed extensively in terms of complementarity and reciprocity at the village level. This ceremony is a way of relating the individual to the community.

"Soul elements" or Ichwan to become disintegrated

Although a problem that may affect anyone, it is especially common in children and young people. Disintegrated Ichwan may be manifested by a variety of symptoms (listlessness, straying of attention, etc.). The condition is thought to be especially dangerous because it makes the affected individual particularly vulnerable to attack by spirits (phi). The soul-tying ceremony is not restricted to individuals and is frequently found as a kind of preventive therapy - routinely practiced on occasions such as prior to a young man's army, and is a basic part of village weddings. Under individual will be at his best and strongest.

Certain individuals known as "soul-tying doctors" (ng sukwan) thought to be especially adept and efficacious in performing the soul-tying ritual are called on when circumstances warrant a real expert; but the general technique of "soul-tying" is widely known, and virtually any one may perform it. In its most elaborate form the ceremony begins with the practitioner's making special acknowledgment of Buddhist symbols (e.g., the Triple Gem) and other factors from which the practitioner learned the special technique. The various goals (utwats) are invoked individually and collectively, and careful concern and assist in the ceremony. The soul-tying doctor then calls on the various Ichwan to return to the individual's body and to their proper place. Finally, the Ichwan are symbolically tied into the individual's body with bits of white cotton string tied to his wrist. Spectators in the ceremony may also be invited to tie the strings to their wrists as well. A meal composed of foods thought to be especially lucky may then be consumed by all present.

I suggested earlier that a notion of individual consisting of a set of soul elements is suggestive of the Buddhist notion of the individual being made up of a number of "elements" or "aggregates" (khandas). It is intriguing to note that other Buddhist peoples of Southeast Asia are reported to have notions similar to that of the Ichwan. Perhaps both the Ichwan concept are to be found in a Buddhist psychology. At any rate the therapeutic function performed by the soul-tying ceremony appeared to restore a lay Buddhist to his fuller potential, at various strategic points in his career as well as when he is ill. In particular, it works in conjunction with - not in opposition to - the Buddhist element in Thai religion.

Folk Brahman Practitioners.

There are numerous Folk Brahman specialities found in village religion, each practitioner being known for his own distinct skills. For example, in addition to the soul-tying ceremony, there are specialists in finding lost objects (ng ho) and "good luck doctors" (ng sio khro) who cleanse a household of dangerous

in pleasure. Digitized by Sarayu Trust Foundation and eGangotri. Funding/IKS/MoE or after a pro-
longed illness in a hierarchical. Like Buddhist religious
roles, Folk Brahman specialists are acquired, usually
by means of a period of training in the particular
technique of a mentor, usually serving a longer or
longer, with an adapted mentor or teacher. Indeed,
active mentors may perform some of the Brahmanistic
ceremonies, rather than those associated with weddings,
for lay people. Since these Brahmanists are skilled
and commonly learned during monastic service,
it is understandable that Folk Brahman
practitioners are overwhelmingly men. This also
suggests why in Buddhist world-view is a
basic source of whatever Brahmanistic
world-view there is, and why there is no extreme
opposition or hostility between the Buddhist
and Folk Brahman elements of Thai religion.

Unlike monks, the Folk Brahman practitioner
is not cut off from ordinary society.
He lives the life of an ordinary villager, providing
his services to clients who seek him out, providing
these Folk Brahman practitioners have widespread
reputations as experts in their specialty
and are highly regarded within their
communities. This respect comes not only
because of their Brahmanistic skills but also
because of their personal qualities -
such as wisdom, generosity, and piety -
which are generally admired.

Social Focus and Participation

Although a man of the Thai population does not
act as a last resort for the Folk Brahman element
in Thai religion, Folk Brahmanism serves as a
resource when called on when needed. In
individual faced with some decision or
choice, or manifesting symptoms of illness, or
undergoing an important transition in life may
become a client of the appropriate Folk
Brahman specialist. After the ceremony or
service has been provided, the client specifies
support after Folk Brahman element ceases
until needed again. Thus involvement with and
participation in Folk Brahman activities tend to
be intermittent and discontinuous, in contrast to
involvement with respect to Buddhism.

Attitudes towards Folk Brahman practices
are generally positive. This may be due not only
to the good services performed by the Folk Brahman
practitioners, and the respected position in
the community, but also to several very close
relationships that exist between Folk Brahman
elements and Buddhism: ideological, in the
world-view; structural, in that Brahman
specialists have typically learned their skills
while in the Sangha; and functional, in
that Folk Brahman practices provide
answers to puzzler posed by Buddhist
belief.

The Folk Brahman element in Thai religion
acts as an intermediary between the particular
rites of everyday life and the relatively
remote guidance of formal Buddhism
provided for the Buddhist. Brahman
practices not only affirm the fundamental
truth of the Buddhist world-view, they also
provide an essential basic morality for

Buddhist layman despite his ordination in ordinary world. If Buddhism serves an important integrative factor for all of Thai society, Folk Brahmanism facilitated its function by maintaining and reinforcing the layman's commitment to a Buddhist-inspired moral community and social order. Hence the Folk Brahman component of Thai religion serves to articulate individuals and social segments of Thai society within larger society-wide Buddhist value-system.

A minor element in Thai Religion

The "animism" is a useful label to apply to a category of popular Thai religious beliefs and practices relating particularly to "spirits" (*phǔ*). Very old (having been mentioned in Ramkhamhaeng inscription) these beliefs are quite extensive in contemporary society. Their pervasiveness has often led to the assumption that they represent survival from an indigenous Thai religion, but Thai religion was like the *phǔ*-Buddhist viewed with caution. In the 1930s, in the Thai of distinctive religious beliefs relating to spirits and marriage custom. Up to early 1960s, many of these previously existing animistic elements had totally disappeared. Those animistic features that remained in the Thai religion were not an accurate guide to the previous situation, it is quite possible that the observation can be generalized to other areas of Thailand. One problem in approaching the animistic sector of Thai religion (or of other Theravada Buddhist societies) is that such animistic beliefs and practices may well have had an autonomous position, but they have been partially subsumed by Buddhism. That is, spirits form an integral part of Buddhist cosmology, as do the gods of Brahmanism component of Thai religion. Hence, despite the ubiquity of spirit-beliefs and practices, and predominant view that they are representing purely indigenous elements to be treated independently of Buddhism, Buddhism provides an overarching framework within which all other aspects of Thai religion must be examined.

A minor Goal Orientation and World View

Partially because of the cooption of spirit into Buddhist cosmology, it is difficult to see a distinctive and separate animistic world view. Spirit-beliefs and practices relate only to a limited segment of experience, not to totality of experience as does Buddhism. Like Folk Brahmanism, animism is concerned with mundane problems, many animistic practices relate to personal health, often to property. One aspect concerned with village guardian spirits (*phǔ pǔ*), protecting village and ensuring its prosperity and good health. Spirits are generally assumed to be a

seriously, fear of human beings and ready to attack those who have, inadvertently or not, often used them, or those who are especially susceptible to attack (e.g., those who wear or disorganized Khaman). A similar protection is attempted to cure those afflicted by spirits by conjuring the spirits, placating them, and having them removed to illness.

Buddhism and Folk Brahmanism share an assumption that there is a determinate and knowable level of reality beneath the flux of the phenomenal world, and that later rituals are automatically effective. But spirits inhabit a level of reality that only enters the cyclically re-interpreted to be capricious and unpredictable. Even advanced practitioners like the spirit-doctors (no. 116) of Uttar Pradesh doubt the effectiveness of their rituals. This uncertainty does not reflect on the capriciousness of spirits, but also because spirits themselves are thought to dominate the rituals; in spirit-doctor merely provides a medium or bridge to the spirit-world, she does not control it. The instability of ancient rituals may be why, when a person's symptoms are unambiguously those of a spirit-attack, they are referred to one of the means of Folk Brahmanism and Buddhism have been exhausted.

Ancient Ritual

When an individual shows symptoms suggesting that a spirit has attacked him (e.g., loss of appetite, etc.) or when a patient does not respond to other modes of treatment, a spirit-specialist will be called on. This is usual for an ill person (but also for a child) to Folk Brahmanism for initial diagnosis and/or treatment, and he is referred by the doctor to a spirit-doctor. The main task of the spirit-doctor is to communicate with the aggrieved spirit, causing the illness, discover what has offended it, and what sacrifice will make amends. Since it is thought to be unique and distinctive, each ceremony follows a general form. The spirit-doctor may arrive uninvited and dance on an erratic and ungraceful way, accompanied by music. While dancing, she calls on the spirits, particularly her "familiar spirit" (yaw), until a trance-communicate is introduced. She then enters some haggling, strike a bargain for the cure of the patients. Many other features associated with the ancient rituals (use of whiskey, dancing and trance-like state) stand in direct opposition to many paramount values of Buddhism (Sobriety, self-restraint), and of Folk Brahmanism as well.

Ancient Practitioners

In contrast to Buddhist religious specialists and Folk Brahman practitioners, spirit-doctors tend to be women. Although they may possess some peculiarities (e.g., food taboos, or charging others to placate their familiar spirit), spirit-doctors are otherwise indistinguishable from other

fellows. In contrast to the achieved and universalistic features of both Buddhism and Folk Brahman religious rules, there are ascriptive and particularistic elements involved in becoming a spirit-doctor. For example, co- is believed not becoming a spirit-doctor is not voluntary, as co- is with monks, leas and lehwon doctors. A spirit "Ch o'osar" a woman (she is female), and coerces her by threat of illness and even death. Some spirit-doctors claim that despite these threats, they believe in spirit's call until too weak to resist. Some also believe that spirits show a fondness for women who are related, e.g., sisters, mother and daughter, cousin and niece. Following on a Buddhist and Folk Brahman role by ritual involvement some measures of learning of chants, techniques, or other lore. By contrast popular belief that co- can cure spirit-illnesses all necessary skills for spirit-doctor, so no learning involved in her part.

Occasionally several spirit-doctors may come together to perform a ceremony at which they collectively "feed" their spirits (liang phi). But primarily, spirit-doctors act as individuals; they do not form a distinctive organization or group which acts to elaborate and perpetuate a distinctive animist ideology or world-view, as does the Sangha for Buddhism. The perpetuation of animist beliefs and practices relies primarily on the maintenance of popular beliefs about the significance, functions and importance of spirits. In this regard, an animist component of Thai religion benefits from at least one Buddhist Cosmology and belief has included spirits as a part of its formal and popular belief system.

Participants and Social Focus

Becoming a spirit-doctor is a part-time specialty, providing services to clients when needed. Except for a spirit-doctor, involvement with animist elements is intermittent and generally of low intensity; and supports not routinely maintained. The main instance of collective involvement with animist elements is ceremonial closure to the perpetuation of the village tutelary spirits (Intriguingly, an individual in charge of this ceremony, the Cao Cam phu puta, is a man, in contrast the dominance of females in Thai animist rules). A few generalizations about spirits, in his or her life. Women, children, and those in weak lehwon are likely objects of spirit's attention; and in period around childbirth is especially dangerous, for both mother and child. The impoverished are more likely to be involved in animist activities than the well-to-do; and less accessible regions are likely to have a higher incidence of animist elements than more accessible areas. In general,

where Buddhist and/or Folk Brahman involvement and activities are high, animist involvement and activity is likely to be low.

In contrast to respect accorded Buddhist and Folk Brahman features, though with a little overt hostility, considerable ambivalence & expressed aloofness exist against animism, even by those most deeply involved in it. Where exceptions are person or practitioner, little respect or prestige among other fellows. There are clearly deep-seated cleavages between animist elements and Buddhist and Folk Brahmanism. In many ways which Buddhism values most highly: asceticism, self-control and predictability. The superior potency of Buddhism over animistic beliefs is taken as axiomatic by Thai. Moderate Buddhist symbols, chants, holy water and inscriptions may be used to overcome or ward off spirits or to exorcise them. Indeed, some claim that spirits cannot harm any truly devout Buddhist, lay or monk. However, the existence of spirit-oracle, which is not doubtably in phenomenal reality of spirits (except, possibly, among the most sophisticated).

In contrast to society-wide focus of Buddhism and urban regional aspect of Folk Brahmanism, animist tends to be highly localized; malevolent spirits and spirit-oracles operate within a narrowly restricted vision range of variability in beliefs and practices throughout Thailand. Folk Brahmanism or Folk Brahmanism, although similarities in form and pattern can be discerned. Insofar as animistic elements are effective, they tend to be individualized to a specific locality, rather than turn them into a wider world and both, Buddhism and Folk Brahmanism.

Thai Religious Complexity: Comparisons and Contrasts

Before turning to the historical dimensions of Thai religious complexity, it might be fruitful to summarize an analysis of the previous discussion was not intended to be exhaustive but rather to single out a few major components that can be analytically distinguished in Thai religion. There is a vast Buddhist, a Brahmanistic Folk, and an animistic component. I will highlight similarities and differences between the components and suggest how they are interrelated.

to form a coherent Thai religious pattern.

The comparisons and contrasts are summarized in Table I.

TABLE I Summary of Three Components of Thai Religion

	Buddhism	Brahmanism	Animism
Goal orientation	Other-worldly	Other-worldly	Other-worldly
World-view	deterministic- continuity	deterministic- continuity	capricious uncertain
Ritual	Standard- routine	Standard- routine	individually- tailored
Specialists	predominantly- male	predominantly- male	predominantly- female
Recruitment	universal- listic achievement	universal- listic achievement	particularistic ascription
Participants	laity	clergy	clergy
Involvement	constant	intermittent	intermittent
Attitudes toward	highly favourable	favourable	ambivalent
Social focus	whole society	encompassing locality & society	highly localized

There are four important contrasts between Buddhism and the two components of Thai religion. Buddhism is oriented primarily to other-worldly goals; the entire populace serves for and involvement in Buddhism is constant; the entirety of Thai society encompasses within their components in five ways: an animist world-view involves capricious and unpredictable elements; spirit-practitioners, recruited ascriptively and particularistically, and its social focus is local in scope. Folk Brahmanism appears to be intermediate between Buddhism and animist components. And such, it does not present any distinctive features that contrast with the other two components, though it does have more features

in common with Buddhism and with animism.

The Buddhist and Brahmanistic components share several features: both involve a determinist-istic and predictable world-view; their rituals follow standardized forms and are thought to be automatically efficacious; specialists' roles are achieved and defined by universalistic standards; practitioners tend to be men; and attitudes toward both components are strongly positive. Though the social focus of Buddhism, relating to the entirety of Thai society (and beyond), is more inclusive than that of Brahmanism, the two are related. Folk Brahmanism serves to integrate regions and individuals into Buddhist system and to stabilize its relationship.

Brahmanism and animism share the following features: both are oriented to mundane this-worldly matters; participation in both is on a client basis; and involvement in and support of both's interrelation, it should also be noted that Buddhism and animism appear mutually opposed on all dimensions considered here, and animism contrasts with both Buddhism and Brahmanism on several dimensions; its indeterminate and unpredictable world-view; its fluid structure of its rituals; predominance of women practitioners; particularistic and ascriptive features in recruitment of specialists; and its ambivalence toward animism generally.

On the basis of preceding discussion, the pattern of Thai religious complexity might be characterized thus: Buddhism stands at its apex over Thai religious system and forms a central part of Thai social values. Buddhism provides a coherent and integrated system of beliefs, practices and specialists, sanctioned by a Confucian orthodoxy, the Sangha, political authority, and the Thai masses. The Sangha perpetuates Buddhist values and beliefs, and stands as a proximate symbol and living embodiment of them. It is through its ubiquitous Sangha and Buddhist ritual system that these values are displayed to be internalized in one form or another, by all Thais. Thereby, Buddhism penetrates all levels and sectors of Thai society. Buddhism provides the Thai with a unitary set of values and a common ritual and expressive language, uniting them in a larger Buddhist moral community that transcends particularistic and local loyalties and attachments.

Given its paramount position of Buddhism within the Thai religious pattern, both Brahmanist and animist patterns can be understood only in relation to Buddhism. In this regard, though Folk Brahmanism is a part of a religious

abstract and unrestrained complex, or might be viewed primarily as a "sub-system" of the larger Buddhist system. This view is supported by the fact that in Buddhist and Brahman world-views are isomorphic, if not completely determined. The Sangha, traditionally serving as a major repository of Brahman expertise and as a training ground of Brahman practitioners, not only closely links a Brahman component of Thai religion with Buddhist institutions, but makes it very permeable to change on such lines. Finally, Brahmanists and priests serve to mediate a number of basic religious problems. Buddhism poses for members of the laity but does not directly resolve - case of forming attachments, ultimate significance of health, illness, and prosperity, and involvement in mundane world. Essentially, Folk Brahmanism provides a system of religious therapy, and also legitimated involvement of the lay Buddhist in ordinary society without posing a threat to his Buddhist commitments or to his own basic morality. One can only speculate about a situation - in Thailand or anywhere. The naive Buddhist society - in which there were no mediating mechanisms such as Folk Brahmanism provided between the often-widely divergent of Buddhism and the mundane matters of everyday life. Perhaps understanding the buffering role Folk Brahmanism plays on Thai religion - between abstract Buddhist values and exigencies and particularities of everyday ordinary life - helps to understand at least the formal Buddhism is never found without a section of "non-Buddhist" elements present as well.

Among early students of Thai religion, Randall and Le May were impressed with the apparent persistence of animistic elements in Thai religion over many centuries. Despite this undoubted persistence, animism in contemporary Thai religion appears fragmentary, disorganized and unsystematic - particularly when compared with other components of Thai religion. While one can perceive some uniformity in form and content, animism does not appear to be an autonomous or coherent system of beliefs and practices parallel to those of Buddhism and Brahmanism. One exception to this generalization may be where animistic features are articulated with Buddhist cosmology and belief. In this connection, animism might be viewed as providing a "symbolic opposition" to Buddhist conceptions of order. The capriciousness and malice of spirits provides an image of the kind of chaos and disorder which might exist if a Buddhist order should prevail. However, as disorder

in a general way, but in a specific way with reference
of Buddhist order, for the latter is more and
always to prevail. Buddhist symbols are
capable of exercising the spirit, but spirit
is in a position against Buddhism. Even
though Buddhist order ultimately prevails,
there is always the possibility of an anti-
Buddhist breaking through. This possibility
in fact, provides a degree of tension
release for those in whom Buddhism
places an unusual strain or who occupy
a special position vis-à-vis Buddhism.
Such considerations may help us to understand
at first - floating quality of animistic elements
in Thai religion, as well as a prominent place
which have in animistic practice.

This effort to characterize a pattern of
Thai religious complexity is undoubtedly
over-simplified. However, it may provide a
point of departure for a more intensive
investigation of variability within Thai
religion and for viewing Thai religion and
society comparatively, as one part of a larger
range of variability encompassing all
societies in which Theravada Buddhism is
found. The pattern outlined above may
also help us in examining fluctuations and
shifts in Thai religion and society throughout
history. It should not be taken to imply that
Thai religion ever was, or is now, a neatly
integrated and balanced homogeneous
system which has persisted autonomously
and with effort. There have been and
continue to be, tensions and strains within
and between various components of Thai
religion, as well as in their articulation with
other aspects of Thai society. For example,
there is a kind of tension between Buddhism
and animism which is a well-known very
fabric of Thai religion itself. If such
tensions exist, there undoubtedly
have been other ones can be discerned in
the historical development of Thai religion
and Thai society.

In the following section, I shall propose
that an overall process of religious
development can be discerned in the sweep
of Thai history. I shall note several points
where tensions within Thai religion, or between
religion and Thai society, seem to have
occurred. Finally, I shall note some
present changes in Thai religion and
society which may pose significant
problems in the future.

Historical Dimensions of Thai Religion

Complexity

In the absence of a precisely described
research of the development of Thai religion
and society, I wish to draw on a tentative and
perspective that can guide our speculations
about their development - speculations
which can be checked against future
historical research. The theoretical per-
spective was formulated by M. Mauss in
his effort to understand the evolution of

between an Great & Small Traditions of India.
In India, Marxist-socialist relationships are subserving
two distinct but complementary processes which he
terms "universalization" and "parochialization".
Applying these concepts to the development of Thai
religion highlights an overall process of religious
"upgrading", i.e. involving increasing Buddhiza-
tion of Thai religion and society.

Upgrading in Thai Religion

It is likely that, in their numerous contacts
with neighboring Khmer, Upper-Burmese-Thai
encountered a variety of Indianized religious
ideas and institutions. Their own religious system
was apparently animistic, one in which spirits
were the major figures. The Thai adoption of
Theravada Buddhism during the 13th C. set the
stage for an indigenous development of a
distinctive Thai religious pattern and social
order dominated by Buddhist values and
ideas. My own speculation - based largely
on numerous close connections between
these elements in contemporary Thai religion -
is that as Buddhism adopted by the early Thais
included some popular elements similar, if not
identical with, what I have termed Folk
Brahmanism. However, as suggested in a
previous discussion, there is a necessity for
some sort of mediator between abstract
Buddhism and the everyday-life problems
of the ordinary Buddhist. Noting the
contemporary Folk Brahman beliefs and
rituals serve as functions may help illuminate
the common co-occurrence of purportedly
non-Buddhist religious elements everywhere
that Theravada Buddhism is found.

Ramkhamhaeng's inscription suggests how a
process of articulation between Buddhism
and an indigenous Thai religion took place.
Indigenous spirits (such as Phra Khaphung)
were identified with various aspects of
Buddhist cosmology and belief - e.g.,
an abstract spirit, demon, etc. A locality
spirit might be identified with a more
abstract Hindu-Buddhist entity like
Maia Thorani, the goddess of earth. Initially,
such identifications of indigenous spirits
with more abstract religious entities would
involve a degree of parochialization. By
conceptually identifying a proximate and
familiar spirit with a distant complex
abstract and universal cosmology, the
spirit is made less abstract and more
concrete within indigenous system of
beliefs. But such identifications
simultaneously involve a process of univer-
salization. The familiar spirit, now identi-
fied with a more abstract and universal
cosmological scheme, is upgraded to an
entity more distant than previously.

Buddhist cosmology is broad
enough to encompass virtually all aspects

of an indigenous Thai religion, however, its internal structure might provide a new, even complex and systematic order of relations between indigenous entities and beliefs. Whatever relationships had previously been thought to exist between indigenous spirits, their identification with Buddhist cosmology would make these relationships explicable in terms of abstract concepts such as Karma or more popular beliefs about merit. The parochialization of Buddhist cosmology and belief might make it easier to spread Buddhism in central Thailand. But an attendant universalization of indigenous beliefs could only serve to transform the religious scene, making it more complex and differentiated than it had been previously. I am proposing that the adoption of Theravada Buddhism is not a motion in itself, a process of universalization and parochialization, but the product, and somewhat indirectly transformed into religious and social systems, of a more complex "upgrading".

Such a process of upgrading does not occur in a vacuum, nor does it in motion, alone; it also automatically continues. More can be seen as a case - and for all events, it is a continuing ongoing process. A central feature of the upgrading process in Thai religion is its continued existence after Buddhist Sangha. Monks are dedicated to the preservation of some degree of Buddhist ideology and the penetration of Buddhist values and values into lives of ordinary people. We observed earlier with perplexation the Sangha, and the Thai, supported by a variety of formal and informal pressures. While it might be useful to state of Rong Kambuang inscription as indicating that the upgrading process had already been activated, it can be seen as continuing throughout Thai history and into contemporary times. The process of upgrading was not always even, and various points in Thai history can be taken to illustrate instances when the process was open to alternative directions or was responding to special situational exigencies.

The Thai religious and social pattern was elaborated and socialized during a long period of Ayutthaya dominance, from the 14th to the 19th Century. This period saw the elaboration and centralization of the State which was expanded and incorporated into Buddhist-dominated patterns. The Revolution of 1688 was a response to external threats to autonomy and integrity of the pattern, ensuring its maintenance intact. The chaos that followed the collapse of Ayutthaya manifested several intriguing problems to be explored further. For example, one of the contenders for paramount power was Phra Fang, a monk who retained his monastic robes but sought political hegemony. He was an apparently ideal man who also wore yellow robes of the monk class.

was deposed by the king of Siam, who took over the Thai kingdom. On the one hand, Siam sought to restore the traditional religious and social order in the midst of Buddhist and Brahman experts; on the other hand, he expressed heterodox views which created a new order. Among other things, he claimed extraordinary religious qualities and regarded with respect and veneration, reversing the traditional order of respect between monk and king.

Siam was deposed and power was assumed by Rama I who also sought to restore the traditional pattern, emphasizing the dominance of Buddhism while legitimating Brahmanist and animist elements. Rama I was more successful than Siam, and his successors continued a process of elaborating and stabilizing the complex religious pattern, with Buddhism at the pinnacle. Rama IV, better known as King Mongkut, is another strategic figure. He initiated a series of religious and social reforms which helped set a model for modern Thai state, encouraging an effort to upgrade the standards of the Thai Sangha, modifying certain royal ceremonies to conform more closely to Buddhist ideas of kingship, and the de-sacralization of numerous traditional beliefs about cosmology and astrology. Mongkut's reforms directed the process of reorganization; and his successors — particularly his son King Chulalongkorn, whose long reign (1868-1910) brought the Thai into the modern world.

Changes in Modern Thai Religion and Society

King Chulalongkorn continued the religious and social reforms initiated by his father. For example, he formalized Mongkut's Sangha reforms by recognizing the Thammayut "reform" group as a part of the larger Thai Sangha, in addition to the Mahaniketan monks, who follow a more traditional mode of monastic discipline. Thammayut monks and temples subsequently spread throughout the kingdom, serving as exemplars of a more rigorous monastic discipline. Chulalongkorn also sought to rationalize the administrative structure of the kingdom, and he established a national secular school system. Traditionally, place within the temple. This new development freed monks to pursue his so. Chulalongkorn also initiated the rationalization and centralization of the Sangha, paralleling the organization of the government. National standards were set for monks, and eventually Buddhist universities were founded in Bangkok to improve their training. More recently, the central government has sought to involve the Sangha in national efforts to develop the country, and to encourage monks as religious ambassadors to non-Buddhist minorities in the kingdom.

The overall trend of modern development has been to emphasize the central position of Buddhism in Thai religion and society, and to elevate the level of religious

of an indigenous structure might provide a new, even complex and systematic order of relations between indigenous entities and beliefs, whatever relationships had previously been thought to exist between indigenous spirits, their identification with Buddhist cosmology would make these relationships explicable in terms of abstract concepts such as Karma or more popular beliefs about merit. The parochialization of Buddhist cosmology and belief might make it easier to spread Buddhism in central contact. But an alienant universalization of indigenous beliefs could only serve to transform the religious scene, making it more complex and differentiated than it had been previously. I am proposing that the transformation of Theravada Buddhism in Siam is a motion in the process of universalization and parochialization, which facilitated the spread of Buddhism among the Thai people, and simultaneously transformed their religious and social systems, a term in process of upgrading.

Such a process of upgrading does not occur in a vacuum; nor does self-motion, does it automatically continue. None can be seen as a chance - for - all event, it is a continuing ongoing process. A central feature of the upgrading process in Thai religion is its continued existence after Buddhist Sangha. Monks are dedicated to the preservation of some degree of Buddhist cosmology and the penetration of Buddhist values and ideas into lives of ordinary people. We deserved credit with perpetuation of Sangha, and the Thai, supported by a variety of formal and informal pressures. While it might be useful to think of Rongkhamhaeng's inscription as indicating that the upgrading process had already been activated, it can be seen as continuing throughout Thai history and culture contemporary scene. The process of upgrading was not always even; and various points in Thai history can be taken to illustrate instances when the process was open to alternative abstractions or was responding to special situational exigencies.

The Thai religious and social patterns were elaborated and stabilized during a long period of Ayutthaya dominance, from the 14th to the 19th Century. This period saw the elaboration of Court Brahmanism as the state was expanded and centralized, and more and more Thai were incorporated into Buddhist-dominated patterns. The 'Revolution of 1688' was a response to external threats to autonomy and integrity of the pattern, ensuring its maintenance intact. The chaos followed the collapse of Ayutthaya manifested several intriguing problems to be explained further. For example, one of the contenders for paramount power was Phra Fang, a monk who relinquished his monastic robes but sought political hegemony. His army apparently included men who also wore yellow robes of the monks, despite their activities as soldiers. Phra Fang

was deposed by an army of Jaisin, who took over the Thai kingdom. On the one hand, Jaisin sought to restore the traditional religious and social order with the aid of Buddhist and Brahman experts; on the other hand, he expressed heterodox views which threatened that order. Among other things, he claimed extraordinary religious qualities and requested that monks venerate him, reversing the traditional order of respect between monk and king.

Jaisin was deposed and power was assumed by Rama I who also sought to restore the traditional pattern, emphasizing the eminence of Buddhism while legitimating Brahmanist and animist elements. Rama I was more successful than Jaisin, and his successors continued to proceed of elaborating and stabilizing the complex religious pattern, with Buddhism at the pinnacle. Rama IV, better known as King Mongkut, is another strategic figure. He initiated a series of religious and social reforms which helped set a model for the modern Thai state, including an effort to upgrade the standards of the Thai Sangha, modifying certain royal ceremonies to conform more closely to Buddhist ideas of kingship, and the denigration of numerous traditional beliefs about cosmology and astrology. Mongkut's reforms thrust upon a reformer was continued by his successors — particularly his son King Chulalongkorn, whose long reign (1868-1910) brought the Thai into the modern world.

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The overall thrust of the modern development has been to emphasize the central position of Buddhism in Thai religion and society, and to elevate the level of religious

sophistication in the Sangha. With some exceptions, the monks' religious specialization has been increased, providing an opportunity for up growing disposition. But this has also made being a monk a more difficult task than was previously the case. There is flow of men into and out of the Sangha may have diminished somewhat, except those who do enter may stay for longer periods of time and reach higher levels of religious sophistication.

Since there are close, ideological, structural, and functional connections between Buddhism and Folk Brahman elements in the pattern of Theravadin religion, any changes affecting Buddhism in — especially in Sangha — are also likely to affect Folk Brahmanism. Modern trends encourage a higher degree of Buddhist orthodoxy for monks, which might well lead to a definition of much proto-Brahmanistic lore as "superstition" or perhaps as "too secular" in contrast to modern monks. And, if fewer men enter the Sangha and/or stay for longer periods of time, there may be fewer men available to learn or additional Brahmanistic specialization and bring them back to the lay world.

One reason why Folk Brahmanism was traditionally tied to the Sangha was that most Brahmanistic ceremonies require a degree of literacy formerly available only in the monastic world. With increasing national literacy, and expanded publication and dissemination of books dealing with subjects such as astrology, etc., core and property of Folk Brahman practitioners is now made available virtually anywhere. Such general accessibility without the intervention of the Sangha may actually devalue such knowledge and techniques, making them a game rather than serious business. If — any rate, the contemporary situation may break the close linkage that once existed between the Sangha and Folk Brahman studies. Even as this break has been taking place, the value of the therapeutic functions performed by Folk Brahmanism has been undermined through more general availability of Western medicine; numerous "traveling" infection doctors" (my *chil-ga*) are available to treat various symptoms once dealt with exclusively through *khwan* ceremonies. Hence, the demand for Folk Brahman expertise may be diminishing as at some time the fewer individuals are trying to acquire such studies.

Various facets of modern Thai society have tended to undermine the Folk Brahman component of Thai religion. This has not involved any direct confrontation between such practices and "modernity," but rather a withering away of interest and support. The situation may pose serious threats to Thai religion. Earlier I argued that one of the main functions of Folk Brahmanism was to mediate, for ordinary Buddhist or Buddhist, between the Buddhist and the Buddhist.

and an animistic component were to disappear, abstract Buddhism would have to directly confront problems formerly met by its components of Thai religion: affirmation of basic morality of its daily responsible involvement in an unideal world, legitimation of formation of attachments in this world, and accounting for the moral implications of illness. Perhaps this situation explains an apparent increasing interest in meditation on the part of Thai lay Buddhists (and monks). At any rate an immediate confrontation between abstract Buddhism and the vicissitudes of every day life may be a crucial test of the vitality of Thai religion, a test which holds both creed and promise.

Historical and contemporary evidence suggests that an animistic component of Thai religion has also undergone deep alteration, as Thai religion and society have been increasingly Buddhistized. Since certain aspects commonly attributed to animism (e.g., the very notion of phi) are also included in traditional Buddhist cosmologies, such elements are not likely to disappear. If an animistic component provides a kind of symbolic opposition to the Buddhist world-view, its perpetuation is linked closely to the perpetuation of Buddhism. And, if animistic elements provide a measure of tension release from the stringent demands on an individual, it might even be that animistic manifestations could actually increase as the tensions of living in a modern world also increase.

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31. For example, various "Brahman" figures were prominent in the processional carried in King on circumambulation of the old city walls in Bangkok, on the occasion of his 36th birthday in 1963. The first ploughing ceremony is still performed in Bangkok, though today it has lost some of its former spectacular character as a national ritual; E. Young, *The Kingdom of the Yellow River* (Westminster: Constable, 1968) p. 64 f., 78 f., notes unpopularity of such Brahman ceremonies as the coronation ceremony, though such ceremonies have of now virtually disappeared among the public. However, the modern wedding ceremony followed in Bangkok has much Brahman symbolism. (e.g., pouring lustral water from a conch shell on to a bridal couple).